10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenya. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogonyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadedi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyameda		

11: Hartmann M-5 (ca. 1920) 1928 FL11 Luo FL11

the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migou)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maluong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailed by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut
● 834 and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

20:Ominde I-5 (ca. 1948) 1952
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economy by handicrafts and exchanging pots and baskets for corn.

The introduction of modern household goods of a more durable nature has lessened women's chances of earning money through weaving baskets or making pots. The overcrowding of land has also meant an increased economic dependence on men. To satisfy family demands, most women engage in some kind of business transaction which often keeps them out of the home from morning till late in the evening. Although motor transport has improved these conditions, children have been unfavourably affected through neglect during the mother's prolonged absence. This change from sedentary occupation to long-distance travel has taken place since the coming of new economic standards, and at the moment it is very rare to find a woman who does not trade in a small way.

Women and the Birth of Children

Customs and taboos. The customs and taboos observed by expectant mothers merely reflect the social attitude of Luo women to the birth of their children. Thus the aims of the customs and taboos can only be appreciated in the light of a social desire for the woman to give birth without difficulty. Fundamentally this is also a basis for the disapproval of the birth of twins, and also of abnormal deliveries.

Concerning the persistence of the marital relationship during pregnancy there is no generally accepted restriction. But while custom varies from person to person, any sexual relationship continuing after the sixth month of pregnancy is regarded as excessive. The only social stigma attached to sexual relationship continued for the greater part of this period, is that it may provoke an open rebuke from the midwives or other women. Thus while no hard

[Text continues on p. 57]

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and fast rule can be placed on the time of the temporary termination of the marital relationship, it is generally left to the good sense of the men and women concerned.

The regulation of the diet. Here again the restrictions aim mainly at minimizing the chances of the child being too big, thus rendering it easier for the mother to give birth. Among the foods which women normally eat, bananas are eliminated during pregnancy because of their supposed fattening effect upon the child, and the danger of thus causing a difficult delivery. Among the most conservative women, pumpkins are placed in the same category with the additional belief that, since their contents are mostly water, they have a weakening effect upon the child.

Sugary foodstuffs such as canes, sweets, sugary tea or coffee are among the things which expectant mothers do not eat. Women believe that these foods produce babies so fat that they put a strain on the mother's strength. For the same reason, the excessive drinking of gruel is prohibited, and hot gruel is especially avoided on the grounds that it would scald the baby. But while these restrictions are adhered to in principle, in actual practice women with a strong liking for forbidden foodstuffs do not refrain from eating them.

A factor of great psychological significance is the belief that Luo mothers begin to yield to the will of their babies long before they are born. Among them are some who, during pregnancy, develop a habit of eating dried mud and other peculiar foodstuffs, one baby causing a mother to eat these and the next turning her appetite against them. These strange habits of eating are attributed to the will of the expected child; and it is believed that the domination of the child over the mother, enduring through the early part of its life, begins in the period of pregnancy.

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cry of the midwives was heard announcing the birth of twins, the news had to be carried to the parents of the woman. This loud cry was intended to scare the evil spirits which had brought about the double birth. With it began a series of taboos on the couple as well as on the twins, the family being virtually isolated from society. For emptying their bowels a large pot was placed in a hidden corner at the back of the house. If either of the twins died during the early period it was thrown into this pot. In place of the usual clothing, the couple had creepers twined around them. The period of taboo closed with a large gathering at which a great deal of beer was drunk. At this final ceremony the dancing was rather obscene and was accompanied by foul language in reference to the couple. These proceedings lifted the taboo from the shoulders of the parents, but the twins continued to be affected until their deaths. Moreover, anything done to one of the twins had to be done to the other also, because they could not be treated as separate identities. Now the attitude has greatly changed and even among pagans these customs are no longer observed. 845 [177]

Similarly, a birth in which the baby's legs appeared first was dreaded. This was ascribed to the work of the evil spirit.

Renewal of marital relationship. Originally it was the custom for the renewal of a marital relationship to take place on the third day following the birth of a female child, and on the fourth day after a male child. No married relatives were allowed to enter the hut to see the baby before the parents of the child renewed their marital relationship. 846 834

Although none of my informants could testify that this practice still exists, it is possible that it persists in certain places. Some of the informants pointed out that [177]

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846 834 177 modern maternity wards have weakened the custom, since women stay in them for seven days and return home after having shown the baby to many of their friends.

751 854 *Protection against witches.* Although Christian mothers are not affected by this kind of superstition, pagan mothers still tie things around the necks of their babies to protect them from malignant glances, these articles being attached when the children are exposed to the view of relatives and friends. Most people believe that 754 babies can be bewitched as soon as their skin begins to 854 darken, and the pagans believe that through magic an 753 ill-disposed person can introduce a worm into the baby's stomach. If this occurs, the baby cries and vomits whenever it is suckled by its mother. In the past when no clothes were worn, it was believed that the mother's breast could also be bewitched. The tradition was that every living person had a beneficial worm in the stomach, and that this worm digested the food eaten. When the worm refused to digest the food, there would be serious stomach trouble which might prove fatal. When a child was bewitched it was believed that its beneficial worm had been replaced by a harmful one.

751 Protection against this harmful worm could supposedly be gained by scratching the body of the child (the forehead, the palm, or the flat of the foot) with some medicine, and it is still said that, if the medicine is sufficiently strong, any evil-eyed man looking at the child with the intention of bewitching it will lose his eyesight. Some fragments of bones or roots of herbs may also be worn for the same purpose. Many of these cus- [177] toms have disappeared in strongly Christianized areas, the Christians themselves having sometimes taken direct action to stamp them out, but nurses are still warned not to let young children play on the roadside, in order to protect their charges from being bewitched.